

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8185

INFO AMCONSUL KONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 4900

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJ: JAPANESE VIEWS ON "CAPITALIST ROADER" CAMPAIGN

REF: TOKYO 4820

SUMMARY: DURING RECENT CONFERENCE IN HONG KONG, JAPANESE DIPLOMATS DISAGREED ON RELATIVE STRENGTH OF CHINA'S PRAGMATISTS AND RADICALS AND LIKELY OUTCOME OF CURRENT "ANTI-CAPITALIST ROADER CAMPAIGN." WHILE FONOFF CONTINGENT HEDGED ITS BET ON THIS ISSUE, PRINCIPAL CONCERN IN GAIMUSHO IS THAT CAMPAIGN PREVENTS ADVANCE IN PRC-JAPAN POLITICAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, IN OTHER AREAS, RELATIONS ARE DEVELOPING STEADILY. END SUMMARY.

1. CHINA DEPDIVDIR HASIMOTO DESCRIBED TWO DIFFERING THEORIES ABOUT THE CURRENT STRUGGLE IN CHINA VOICED BY JAPANESE "CHINA EXPERTS" AT THE MARCH 20-22 HONG KONG DISCUSSIONS (REFTEL. REPS FROM EMBASSY PEKING (YOSHIDA) AND CONGEN HONG KONG OFFICERS BELIEVE
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THAT RADICALS' POWER IN CHINA IS SIGNIFICANTLY INFERIOR

TO THAT OF PRAGMATISTS. RADICALS' ACCESS TO MEDIA CREATES ILLUSION OF POWER. PRAGMATISTS ON THE OTHER HAND HAVE FIRM CONTROL OF CHINA'S IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING THE PARTY, ARMY AND STATE BUREAUCRACY. ALTHOUGH MAO IS REMOVED FROM DAY-TO-DAY POLITICS, RADICALS' CLOUT IS CLOSELY RELATED TO SUPPORT PERIODICALLY EXTENDED BY THE CHAIRMAN. RADICALS BELIEVE THAT THEY MUST DEFINITELY ELIMINATE TENG HSIAO-PING PRIOR TO MAO'S DEATH OR RISK ASSUMPTION OF FULL POWER BY TENG AND HIS ALLIES WHEN MAO DIES. THUS, RADICALS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF CHOU'S DEATH TO TRY TO FORCE DEFINITIVE DEMISE OF TENG. BUT IF TENG CAN MAINTAIN A LOW PROFILE AND AVOID PUBLIC REPENTANCE UNTIL MAO DIES, HE STILL HAS A CHANCE TO MAKE A COMEBACK IN THE POWER STRUGGLE EXPECTED TO FOLLOW MAO'S DEATH. SINCE PRAGMATISTS BASICALLY STILL HAVE UPPER HAND, NEITHER DOMESTIC NOR FOREIGN POLICIES ARE LIKELY TO CHANGE. SPECIFICALLY, RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE US AND JAPAN, DOMESTIC PRODUCTION GOALS, AND PURCHASE OF FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY AND PLANTS CAN STILL BE EXPECTED. BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE SENSITIVITIES ON THESE ISSUES, HOWEVER, CHINESE LEADERS MAY BE RELUCTANT TO ADDRESS THESE MATTERS UNEQUIVOCALLY DURING CURRENT PERIOD OF TENSION.

2. SECOND SCHOOL, WHICH HASHIMOTO SAID WAS FONOFF CONTINGENT ITSELF, AGREES THAT PRAGMATISTS ENJOY MAJORITY SUPPORT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND CENTRAL STATE ORGANIZATION AND THINKS THAT MODERATE POSITIONS GENERALLY HAVE BEEN GAINING STRENGTH ON A BROADER NATIONAL BASIS. NEVERTHELESS, THIS GROUP OF ANALYSTS SEES A MORE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT BY CHAIRMAN MAO IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA AND THEY BELIEVE THE RADICALS MAY EXERCISE GREATER INFLUENCE IN THE LONGER RUN. THESE ANALYSTS WOULD NOT EVEN RULE OUT POSSIBILITY THAT RADICALS COULD ACHIEVE SUPREMACY IN THE POST-MAO POWER STRUGGLE. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, BECAUSE OF RADICALS' MORE XENOPHOBIC, PURIST ATTITUDES, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES COULD BE AFFECTED ACCORDINGLY.

3. COMMENT: IT SEEMS TO US THAT FONOFF CONTINGENT HEDGED ITS BET TO ACCOMMODATE WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CAMPAIGN. MIGHT BE. HOWEVER, IN MOST DISCUSSIONS WITH US, CHINA DIVISION OFFICIALS SUBSCRIBE GENERALLY TO ASSESSMENT IN PARA ONE. NEVERTHELESS, PRINCIPAL IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO FONOFF AND PM MIKI AS WELL IS THAT POLITICAL TURMOIL IN CHINA AND JAPAN PRECLUDES MOVEMENT ON BASIC POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. SPECIFICALLY, AS CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA HAS TOLD US REGULARLY FOR PAST TWO MONTHS, PEKING CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO EVEN DISCUSS, MUCH

LESS MAKE ANY COMPROMISE WITH TOKYO ON A PEACE/FRIENDSHIP
TREATY, UNTIL ISSUES BEHIND THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN ARE AT
LEAST TENTATIVELY RESOLVED. TOKYO IS ALSO OF COURSE
PARALYZED BY LOCKHEED SCANDAL. IN THE INTERIM, THOUGH,
SINO-JAPANESE EXCHANGE GROWS Apace IN TRADE AND
VISITS BY VARIOUS DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING A APANESE
MUSICAL MISSION (APRIL 8), AND AN INVITATION EXPECTED
SOON FROM TOKYO'S METROPOLITAN GOVT TO CHINA FOR TECHNICIANS
TO VISIT TOKYO TO DISCUSS ASSISTANCE WITH PEKING'S SUBWAY
SYSTEM. (LATTER APPARENTLY WAS PROPOSED BY CHINESE
IN 1974 TO SOCIALIST DELEGATION VISITING THE PRC AND TOKYO
IS ONLY NOW RESPONDING.)
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